1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

to pierce the infinite obscurity of bygone ages. One point alone seems clear; that when all these lakes existed, more moisture must have been evaporated, and more snow must have fallen as well as more rain; and the humid atmosphere would have produced a milder climate more favourable to animal and vegetable life. The hills would, perhaps, have been clothed with trees, and the still waters of the magnificent lakes would have teemed with myriads of *Lymnæa*, of which only the shells now remain. But the gradual wearing down of the water-courses, and the continual bursting of the lakes, have nearly dried up all the primeval waters of Ladák; and the consequent loss of moisture has occasioned the present general scarcity of rain and snow, and that extreme dryness of atmosphere which has caused the total dearth of trees. The only sheets of water that now exist are landlocked and salt.

A second extinct species of shell is a bivalve (*Cyclas*); but as all the specimens that have been found were preserved inside the *Lymnæa*, they are necessarily small; it is now perhaps impossible to determine exactly whether they are river or lake shells.

Fossil shells are also found in the fine clay deposits near Skardo, of which I have given a specimen in Fig. 4, Plate IX., which contains a *Planorbis* and a *Luccinea* (or perhaps a small *Lymnæa*). One specimen of the existing Planorbis of Skardo is given in Fig. 9.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS.

The domestic animals of Ladák are ponies, asses, oxen, sheep, goats, and dogs. The Argons, or mixed race of half-Kashmiris half-Botis, resident at Lé, now keep a number of common fowls, but they have only

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within the last few years been introduced from Kashmir. 231

Ponies.—The ponies, according to Moorcroft,* who was a good judge, are "small, active, and hardy, but not numerous nor much used." At least one-half of the ponies used in Ladák are brought from Yarkand; but they are all geldings. The asses are small, and only equal to half-pony loads.†

Oxen.—The oxen are the *Yák*, or Chaori-tailed bull, and the yák cow, *Brimo* or *Dimo*, and their hybrid produce with the common cattle.

The *Yák* ‡ is short, but broadly and strongly built, with a small head, short horns, and a wild-looking eye. His long black hair reaches close to the ground before it is cut, and he has usually a shaggy and savage appearance. The *Yák* is used chiefly for carrying loads, as he is generally too intractable for the plough. The cow is kept only for milk.

The most valuable hybrids are the *Dso* bull and the *Dso-mo* cow, which are the produce of the male yák and the common cow. The *Dso* is used, throughout Ladák, for the plough as well as for carrying loads, as he is much more tractable than the yák and quite as strong. The *Dso-mo* yields much more milk than the yák cow, and of a much richer quality. The milk is used chiefly [262] for butter, of which almost every Ladáki consumes a certain quantity daily in his tea, in the same way as milk is used in England. The *Dso* is a very handsome

* Travels, I. p. 309.

† Ponies of all sizes are called *Tú* (in Tibetan *rTa*). Asses are called *Bong*.

‡ The Yák (in Tibetan *gYag*) is the *Bos grunniens*, or grunting ox. The bull is called *Pho-gYag*, or *Pho-yak*; and the cow *hBri-mo*. See Plate XLII.

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231 animal, with long shaggy hair, mostly black and white, but frequently reddish-brown and white, and sometimes altogether white. The hair is cut annually like that of the yák, and is used for the same purposes. The price of a good *Dso* varies from sixteen to twenty rupees.

The other hybrids are little valued. The *Drepo* or *Drelpo* is the male produce between the common bull and the *Dso-mo;* but it is inferior in strength, and the *Dremo*, or female, does not yield more milk than a common cow. The cross between the yák and the *Dsomo* is still less valued. Other crosses are few and accidental; as the produce of all these hybrids quickly degenerates.*

The number of neat cattle I had no accurate means of ascertaining; but as amongst the encampments I generally found that there was about one yák for every ten sheep, the present number may be estimated at about 25,000. Their total value, at the average rate of sixteen rupees each, will be Rs. 3,40,000, or £34,000.

Sheep.—The Ladáki sheep are of two distinct kinds, the tall black-faced *Huniya*, which is used chiefly for carrying burdens, and the pretty diminutive sheep of *Purik*, which is used only for food. All sheep are called by the general name of *Luk;* a flock is called *luk-khyu;* the shepherd, *luk-pa* or *luk-dsi;* and the sheepfold, *luk-ra.*†

The common sheep is the *Huniya*, which, with the exception of the pretty little Purik breed, is almost the only kind of sheep to be found throughout Tibet. This fine sheep is much larger than any of the Indian breeds,

* Moorcroft, I. p. 309, and my brother, Capt. J. D. Cunningham, in Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XIII. p. 221, both say the same thing.

† *Lug*, pronounced *Luk*, *Lug-khyu*, *Lug-pa*, *Lug-r-Dsi*, *Lug-ra*.

The PURIK SHEEP

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● 231

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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the height averaging from twenty-seven to thirty inches. It might, therefore, with advantage be crossed with the common small sheep of our hill provinces. Nearly the whole of the traffic of Ladák is transported on these sheep. They are food, clothing, and carriage, and form the principal wealth of the people of Ladák. I have seen a single flock of six hundred sheep, entirely laden with wool; and in one day I have counted as many as from five to six thousand sheep laden with shawl wool and common wool, borax and sulphur, and quantities of dried apricots, all making their way to the hill provinces on the south-west. The *Huniya* * is, therefore, much prized; and a man's wealth is generally estimated by the number of his sheep. The average price is two rupees and a half (or five shillings), but fine strong rams are worth from three to four rupees.

The whole trade of Ladák does not exceed 30,000 small maunds of sixteen seers each, equivalent to the same number of sheep-loads. But the large importation of grain, which took place yearly before the population had been thinned by disease, emigration, and war, must have employed some 400,000 sheep. Of these, probably about one-half belonged to the Ladákis, and the other half to the hill people of Káshtwár, Chamba, Láhul, Kullu, and Kanáwar. After making a due allowance for lambs, I should estimate the former number of sheep at upwards of 300,000, or rather more than twelve sheep per house. At present the number is not so great, probably not more than 250,000. At the rate of 2 seers (4 lb.)† per sheep, the annual produce of wool

* *Huniya* is the Indian term, of which the Tibetans have made *Hunhi-yi*. The sheep is called *Huniyi-luk*.

† The English sheep yield an average of 4 lb. each, and even the little Purik sheep of Ladák yield 3 lb. See Moorcroft, I. p. 310.

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231 would be about 400,000 seers, or 25,000 small maunds, of which about 5,000 maunds are exported. The remainder is consumed in the country; which gives an allowance of one maund per house, or of 2½ seers (5 lb.) annually, for each individual for clothing and other purposes. This is probably correct, as each person possesses at least the following amount of woollen garments.

One blanket 7 × 5 feet, weighing	4 lb.
One whole fleece, for a cloak	4 „
Two fleeces for bedding and stuffing of pillows ...	8 „
A woollen choga, or coat	5 „
Cap, waistband, stockings, boots	3 „
Seers 12=24	„

Allowing a change of clothing about every five years, the annual consumption of wool will be two seers and two-fifths for each person, or 300,000 for the whole population. To this must be added the number of blankets used by the rich and consumed in the manufacture of bags for the conveyance of grain and other produce. *Atta* (coarse flour) is always carried in skin bags: but I would estimate the number of blanket bags at about one-half of the whole. The number of sheep employed in carriage being 200,000, the quantity of blanketing will be 100,000 yards, weighing 17,500 seers. The total produce and consumption may therefore be thus stated.

	Maunds.	Value.
Wool, exported	5,000	... Rs. 10,000
„ for home consumption	20,000	... 40,000
Total produce ...	25,000	... Rs. 50,000
	or 800,000 lb.	... £5,000

The value of the sheep at an average price of two rupees and a half each, will be Rs. 6,25,000, or £62,500.

The Purik sheep attracted the particular attention of

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Moorcroft,* whose account of them has been publishe 231 ● in the Royal Asiatic Society's Transactions. He was so impressed with the value of this breed, that he collected a small flock for transmission to England: but unfortunately just as he was leaving Ladák the whole flock of sixty-seven was carried off by the chief of Hasora.† It was Moorcroft's opinion that the British cottager might keep three of these sheep with more ease than he now supports a cur-dog; and that every small farmer might maintain fifteen or twenty of them without any extra expense: as they would be entirely supported on that kind of produce which now runs wholly to waste or is thrown out on the dunghill. The Purik sheep will eat crumbs and parings of all kinds. Apricot-skins, turnip-peelings, pea-shells, and tea-leaves are eagerly picked up by this domestic animal; which, as Moorcroft has also noticed, will not disdain to nibble a bone. It will also eat grass, straw, chaff, and leaves. I brought a small flock of twenty from the Purik district to Simla, from whence they were despatched to England by the Governor-General. The Court of Directors presented them to Prince Albert, by whom they were first exhibited in the Zoological Gardens, and afterwards distributed to different persons interested in the breeding of sheep.

This pretty little sheep when full grown is not larger than a South-down lamb of five or six months: but "in the fineness and weight of its fleece, and in the flavour of its mutton it is equal," says Moorcroft, "to any race hitherto discovered." It gives two lambs within twelve months. It is twice shorn during the year, and the total clip yields fully three pounds of wool, of which

* Transactions Royal As. Soc. I. p. 49; and Travels, I. p. 310. The name is written *Pu-rig* and *Bu-rig*, but always pronounced Purik.

† Travels, II. p. 92.

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231 the first clip in Moorcroft's estimation was "fine enough for tolerably good shawls." The Purik sheep is much prized for the flavour and delicacy of its mutton; and in the western districts of Ladák, scarcely any other meat is eaten. In Lé, the average price of a fine Purik sheep is about two rupees, but in their native district they can be procured at one rupee each, and at this price I purchased the little flock that was sent to England. The accompanying sketch of these animals was published in the *Illustrated News*.* The total number of this particular breed cannot be more than one-tenth of the whole, or about 25,000. The flocks may be thus distributed throughout the different districts.

	Huniya.		Purik.
In Drás	25,000	...	—
Suru	25,000	...	—
Purik	25,000	...	25,000
Kánji, Wanlá ...	25,000	...	—
Ladák proper ...	75,000	...	—
Nubra	25,000	...	—
Zanskar	20,000	...	—
Rukchu	5,000	...	—
	225,000	+	25,000
Total ...	250,000		

Goats.—The common domestic goat† of Ladák is the well-known shawl-goat, which thrives only in the most elevated districts. It is bred in Nubra, Zanskar, and Rukchu; but the finest wool is brought from Ruthog and Ngári, which formerly belonged to Ladák, and from Chang Thang, or the southern and mountainous districts of Kotan. The fleece of the shawl-kid is soft, curly, and beautifully glossy. It is used as a lining for cloaks by the more wealthy, and is exceedingly warm and comfortable. The shawl-goat is only shorn once a

* Plate IX.

† All goats are called *Ra-ba*, or simply *Rá*.

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year, and the wool is at once separated from the coarser hair. The hair is manufactured into blanketing for tents, coarse sacking, and ropes for home consumption. The wool is exported to Kashmir, and to Núrpúr, Amritsar, Lahor, Ludiana, Ambála, Rampur on the Sutluj, and Nepál. To Rampur and Nepál the wool is exported direct from Ruthog and Ngári, but Lé is the entrepôt between the other shawl-marts and the wool-producing countries. In Lé the wool is roughly cleaned, by which process it loses two-fifths of its weight. The picker receives the hair as the price of his labour.*

Between Lé and Kashmir only one fixed duty, of half a rupee per maund of sixteen seers, is now charged; but in former days, before Gulab Sing's acquisition of Kashmir, the duties, or rather exactions, were numerous and vexatious. The packages were made up in pony-loads of from sixty to seventy seers each, on which the charges were as follows:—

	Rs.	a.	p.	
By the Ladák government	5	0	0	
Duty levied at Drás	0	3	0	
" Gagangir	1	0	0	
" Gonda Sarsuig ...	0	8	0	
" Kandarbal... ...	0	5	6	
" Mahriána	0	8	0	
Total ...	7	8	6	Kash. Rs.
or	4	11	0	Comp.'s Rs.
The present duty is only ...	Rs. 2	0	0	

showing a difference of 2 11 0, or of 5s. on every load.

* The fine shawl-wool is called *Le-na*; the common wool, *Bal*; and the hair, *sPu*. The Tibetans are not ignorant of cotton, which they call *shing-bal*, or "tree-wool," for the same reason that the Greeks called it ξυλινον, or "tree-flax." The Tibetan names of *Lena* and *Bal*, are the same as the Latin *lana*, and the English *wool*.

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goats in Ladák must be about 80,000. The average price of a shawl-wool goat is four rupees, and the total value of the flocks of Ladák Rs. 3,20,000, or £32,000.

Dog.—The domestic dog* of Ladak is the well-known shepherd's dog, or Tibetan mastiff. They have shaggy coats, generally quite black, or black and tan; but I have seen some of a light-brown colour. They are usually ill-tempered to strangers; but I have never found one that would face a stick, although they can fight well when attacked. The only peculiarity that I have noticed about them is that the tail is nearly always curled upward on to the back, where the hair is displaced by the constant rubbing of the tail.

II.—VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.

I.—TREES.

The vegetable productions of Ladák are few and unimportant. The trees consist of willow, two varieties of poplar,† a kind of tamarisk, the pencil-cedar, and the *Elæagnus Moorcroftii*.‡ The tamarisk and the pencil-

* The Tibetan name for a dog is *Khyi*.

† *gShol-po* and *dByar-pa*.

‡ Capt. Madden, in the Horticultural Society's Journal, has quoted a passage from Moorcroft, to the effect that "a few willows and poplars are the *only trees* in Ladák," and he then produces the authority of Capt. H. Strachey to show that Moorcroft was wrong. But the fact is, that Moorcroft is right *in what he does say*, for either Capt. Madden or Capt. Strachey has misquoted him. In his Travels, I. p. 267, Moorcroft distinctly states that willows and poplars are the *only timber-trees* in Ladák; and in I. p. 306, he repeats the same thing. But in both places he says *timber-trees;* and he is right; for the *Shukpa* (*Shug-pa*) is too small a tree to yield timber, although, if not held sacred, it might yield wood for boxes. Capt. Madden should have recollected that the *Ser-shing* had been first described by Moorcroft, and was therefore named *Elæagnus Moorcroftii*.

797 796 778 778 CHURCH--chhoskhang. The Ladáki Buddhists do not as a rule assemble for public worship, though at the time of their New Year's day and on a few other occasions, large numbers of them go to the monasteries, to worship. The room into which they go is called the "chhoskhang" or "sacred books room." In the house of nearly every rich Buddhist there is a room called the "hlakchung" in which idols are kept and where a lama is in constant attendance, to pray, and keep the lights burning. Nearly every poor man too has an idol room in his house called "chhodkhang".

764 [22]COFFIN--Buddhists burn their dead so do not require coffins, but a kind of box or coffin called rórGHam or rumGHam is used for the conveyance of a corpse to the burning ground. This [797] box, which is square, and without any lid, belongs to the monastery conducting the funeral. It is used repeatedly for the same purpose.

534 [23]CONCH--tung. The Tibetans, like the Hindus, use the conch as a musical instrument in connection with worship. They attach a mouth-piece to one end and a sort of trumpet-shaped pipe to the other, to increase the sound. This instrument is called a kártung.

428 342 [25]COTTAGE--khángpa (or khámpa) is the general term for a house or cottage. The small house occupied by parents after having given up their ordinary house, to their eldest son, on the occasion of his marriage, is called "khángoo," while the bigger house or cottage, made over to the son, is called "khángchhen."

601 COUSIN--azhang (throogoo or) thoogoo (father"s brother's child). áney thoogoo (father's sister's child); ámey mingbey thoo goo (mother's brother's child). ámey máchung thoogoo (mother's sister's child).

231 COW--bálang general, zhodma when in milk, barkam not in milk, dzómo the hybrid cow, a cross between the tame yak bull and an ordinary cow. The cows of Ladák give very little milk sometimes not even a seer a day. The milk of the dzomo is not of so delicate a flavour as that of the cow, but it produces excellent butter.

796 536 that after death a man's spirit, on its way to the next world, is met by demons whose features resemble those portrayed on the masks, and that if a man has not in this world been rendered familiar with such monstrosities, he is likely to be frightened off the proper road.

796 787 The "MáSHo NaGHrang" takes place about February at the village of MaSHo. On the day of the festival, two Lámás, called "hlooiar" are stripped, and their bodies painted black--after which a devil's face is painted in red on their chests and backs. Other Lámás then surround them and read prayers and incantations, while more Lámás play musical instruments. After a time the "hlooiars" become possessed with devils and begin to shout and leap about and rush over the roofs of the houses of the village. When in this state of excitement they are believed to be endued with the power of prophecy, and they are consequently much consulted. After a time the "hlooiars" succumb to the excitement and fall down senseless, they are then taken away by the Lamas and the NaGHrang ceremony is at an end.

[45]

601 FILIAL--butsey-tsoks.

601 FIRST BORN--góboo.

778 FLAGSTAFF--tarchhen general term, gialtsan the round cylindric[sic] usually seen on the top of a monastery.

241 231 FLAIL--Not used in Ladák, where corn is trodden out by cattle.

[47]

651 FORCED LABOUR--beygár or thal or hala. The vicious system of beygár or "forced labour" which is to be found in most Oriental countries, prevails also in Ladák. Strictly speaking, the only persons liable to beygár are the holders of land, but as a matter of fact the Kashmir authorities do not observe this restriction very closely, and exact it from others than land-holders.

The word beygár is used to denote the unpaid labour exacted by the State from land-holders. Every village keeps a roster of men liable to beygar, and each in turn has to do, or arrange that some one else shall do on his behalf, such beygár as may be demanded.

776 god, and so on with the Gods of water (chhoo), wood (SHing),
779 fields (zhing), store houses (páng), wealth (nor), etc. Beys hla is the God watching over one when travelling in foreign parts, khar i hla is the patron god of a castle or palace, and zhis hla and khim hla and hláloo are the Ladáki household gods.

GODDESS--hlámo. There are very few goddesses, the chief are "yum" the mother of all Buddhas, and dorjey phakmo.

293 GOGGLES--migSHel any kind of glass spectacles, migra a kind of eye-preserver, made by Ladákis out of horse hair, twisted into a kind of fine net work and shaped like goggles.

291 [54]GOWN--The ordinary dress of a Ladák woman consists of a patoo gown called "mo-GHos," in which the skirt and body are in one piece. A girdle or "skieyraks" is worn round the waist. On fair days and other great occasions they wear a petticoat, a
[439] skirt striped with red, green and yellow. These are called "stakta" and cost about 20 rupees each, as they come from Lhása. A cheaper kind of holiday skirt called "thigma" is made of pattoo with flowers stamped in colours upon it.

343 GRANARY--gisbang large, pánga a store room for grain, such as every cultivator keeps in his house.

764 GRAVE--romkhang Buddhist funeral pyre, kabar Muhammadan grave. The Christian burial ground at Leh is called "rom khang" but a grave (without a monument) is called thurthrot and "pangso" is the earth mound over a grave. Khakchan or nantan, important. Also tsher-rdong chhak ches, to look grave.

231 GREYHOUND--lingskhee. The word means "sporting dog," but it is applied more particularly to greyhounds, these [55] being the only kind of sporting dog known to Ladákis.

243 GRIM--nas or ngomdok, beardless barley or "grim". This is the
262 grain most in demand in Ladák. From it is made "satoo," which forms the food of the people, and "chhang," which is the national drink. It ripens at greater altitudes than other grains, (i.e., close up to 15,000 feet above the sea), it ripens more quickly, and it requires less manure.

585 can do so, but the fact of its not being given, does not invalidate the marriage. It is considered the correct thing to give a marriage feast, for the giving of it gratifies the vanity of the person concerned, and what is far more important, if no feast is given, the bridegroom gets no "raktak" with his bride. In most oriental countries it is customary to marry a girl, at latest, so soon as she reaches the age of puberty, but in Ladák a bride is generally as much as 16 years old before she is married. Should it turn out, as not infrequently happens, that the bride is not a virgin, the bridegroom does not take it amiss, not on philosophic grounds, but because he really deems it a matter of no importance.

595 585 Younger brothers of the bridegroom take no part in the marriage ceremony, though after the whole of the ceremonies are over, they become by right co-husbands, whether the lady likes it or not, and whether the elder brother likes it or not.

583 585 The ceremonies observed at makpa weddings are similar to those of the pakston wedding, with this difference that instead of the bride being taken away to the bridegroom's house and becoming his property, the bridegroom remains at the bride's house, and becomes her property.

583 MARRY TO--pakston cho ches, to marry in the ordinary way. Pakston tang ches, to give in marriage. Makpa khiong ches to take a "makpa" husband, and makpa chha (or khier) ches, to be taken in marriage as a "makpa" husband (for "makpa" see "Husband)."

231 [439] MASTIFF--zang-khee or chang-khee. The zang khee is the real Tibetan mastiff, the chang-khee is the Changthang half-bred looking mastiff. The pure mastiffs are procurable only in Lhása; they are very handsome, but costly to purchase, and quite useless, as they very seldom become properly domesticated. They won't follow well, and they can't march or stand the slightest heat.

[100]

311 MEADOW--ól-tháng (a field of lucerne grass). There are no grass fields in Ladák, though turf is found near the edge of a stream.

264 262 MEAL--pakphey (atta), záches (food). The following are the meals eaten by a Ladáki during the day, viz., (1) chheenan taken at dawn, and consisting of satoo; with tea or milk; (2) tsáma or tsálma taken about 10 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea, (3) pharma taken at noon, and consisting of satoo and tea, with

262 SAUSAGE--tshilkham or náng. A Tibetan sausage is made of mutton or goats' flesh and highly flavoured.

331 SCAFFOLDING-- Wood is too valuable in Ladák to admit of ordinary scaffolding being used during the building of a house, etc., and the builders seem to get on very well, though using only rough ladders (SHaska) and high trestles (SHingtee).

871 797 [142]SCHOOL--hloptá-kháng. With the exception of the Moravian Mission School at Leh, there is no regular school of any kind in Ladák.

792 794 788 [144]SERMON--The Buddhist priests do not preach sermons, they confine themselves to reading the scriptures. To read the scriptures aloud to a congregation is called "máney skul ches," and the reader, who need not necessarily be a Lámà, is called "Mâneypa." The reader intones, and as he comes to the end of each sentence, he pauses, and the congregation slowly chants the mystic syllables "aum ma nee pat mey hung," pronounced om máni-padme hum. The congregation cannot understand the language of the scriptures, and does not care to do so, as Ladákis consider that it is the duty of the priests to look after such matters for them.

291 195 SHAWL--tsádir or tsazar or respectfully namtsar (a shawl); staktra (the small square shawl worn by Ladák women, either as an apron or hanging under one [145] arm; it is generally made of a check pattern, either in wool or cotton).

231 SHEEP--luk (general); roobo (entire); luk (castrated); lugmo or móluk (ewe); lugoo (lamb); phólaks or thongpa (a fine fat castrated sheep ready for killing); chángluk (the large load-carrying sheep of Chángtháng).

439 435 [146]SILVER INGOT--These come only from China. Some are imported to Léh viá Lhása, but most of them come via Yárkhand. The Tibetan word for an ingot is rdótsat or starmikma, but the Turki words "koorus" or "koors" and "yámboo" are also used. The ordinary koors is worth from ₹ 165 to ₹ 170. There are also smaller ingots, called "yámikma" (value ₹32) and "lugmikma" (value ₹16).

372 because the latter had several times gone out without the tsepo (the
415 little carrying basket woven with straw) on her back. The old woman said that only shemas (noble women) or slovenly females did such things. Going out without a tsepo was useless because one missed the fine opportunity for collecting dung. Namgyal (14) enjoyed gathering

551 14. From now on the relatives call the boy mostly only by his second name "Namgyal" omitting, as a rule, the ugly protective name "Drogpa," except on occasions when they again want to frighten threatening spirits with the name, or when they want to differentiate namesakes.

wood because it gave him the opportunity to wander through mountain
231 and valley. But it was a particular delight to him to drive the herd
476 of sheep and goats of the village into the mountains with his father or uncle or later with an older companion, whenever it was the turn of the Dragshos house to tend the village herd. They would get under way as soon as the sun had gone up over the double cone of the Bragnuma. His mother would give the boy a sizable /35/ lump of kollag (a lump of roasted barley flour kneaded into a firm dough with tea or beer) to take along, which the boy would bind, wrapped in a cloth, inside his long waist-belt or sash. Everyone would take a sturdy stick into his hand, Namgyal would also tie his slingshot inside his sash, and then they would go up into the mountains.

First their own herd of about 50 sheep and goats is driven out of the narrow, dark stable. Then they go along the twisting village street and at every courtyard another small herd joins them, in the case of the small farmers consisting of only five to six animals, until the entire village herd is together. They turn into a side valley,
231 slowly driving the herd on through loud shouts, as well as luring it on, and there the young herders lead it along the brook where the animals line up in rows to take their morning drink. Until evening there is then usually not a drop to drink in this wilderness. If a wayward goat (15) should decide to move too far away from the rest of the

15. The Tibetan goat which is often falsely designated as a "Kashmir goat," is a small, extremely agile and very easily satisfied animal which climbs with the adroitness of a chamois. It supplies the fine wool which in Kashmir is worked into the famous shawls and similar fine woven products.

231.

This wool is spun from the delicate woolly down which the goat has under its coarse outside bristle hair. The Tibetan goats' home is Tibet and neighboring highlands. In Kashmir there is a large, hornless goat which does not possess the fine wool. The Tibetan goat has horns.

herd, and if it does not obey the warning shouts or whistles, then a well-aimed stone from the boy's slingshot whizzes with a loud buzz over it and strikes the boulders close to the goat so that the latter, warned in this way, quickly returns to the herd in a fright. True, it often happens that an animal is hit by the stone and many a limping animal shows the consequences of such unskillful use of the slingshot.

In this manner they slowly climb up to the slope, to the "meadow." Meadow? But where is there a meadow here? Here there is nothing to be seen that remotely resembles the juicy, green pastures and lush mountain meadows of Kashmir or of Lahul, of the highlands situated to the west and to the south. Steep, rocky slopes, marked by jagged boulders and sown with stone blocks, here and there a little tuft or a pad of hard, grey-green desert grass, between the rocks some desert plants and shrubs smelling of strong herbs, that is the "meadow" as this mountain wilderness offers it. But sheep and goat in these regions have practically no demands. With sureness they find out the often quite wooden plants which nevertheless supply them with sufficient nourishment, so that they prosper and remain robust. Climbing, jumping, they look for their food even on the highest rocky peaks and ledges and on the narrowest strip of a cliff. Not infrequently an animal climbs and wanders so far astray that it can move neither forwards nor backwards /36/, and in this way it becomes a helpless victim of the eagle; unless it is discovered by people who, in order not to lose its meat, try to throw large rocks from a nearby rock that can be scaled, so that the animal falls down.

Many dangers threaten man and animals in these high regions. And when Namgyal drove the herd into the mountains for the first time with a few companions of his own age instead of with an adult, the ordinarily plucky boy was a little frightened after all, for he had heard much about the animals of prey of the mountains and about how they are a terror to the herds and to the herders.

The Tibetans have in their Tibetan mastiff a magnificent type of dog which barely stands behind the Saint Bernard in size and strength and which is easily trained to be a shepherd dog. But the Tibetan is

●231 not satisfied with that, even though these enormous dogs are able to do battle with any wolf. Thus the care for the protection of the herd rests solely upon the herder, whose only weapons are stick and slingshot. It was not to be a long time before Namgyal was to get an [136] impression of the activity of the wolves. One day, when he had lain down for a little while around noon time with his companion, just below an overhanging rock which supplied a protection against the scorching rays of the sun--most of the small animals of the herd had done the same and were resting here and there in the shadow of boulders, chewing the cud--suddenly just as if lightning had struck the herd, two wolves had, without being noticed, crept up between the mass of boulders, had seized a sheep and a goat and with their prey in their mouths they were making off. The two youthful herders jumped up, stoutly remained on their post, shouted after the robbers and threw large stones after them which, however, did not prevent the latter in the least from securing their prey.

[136] Another time an imperial eagle struck a small kid scarcely twenty paces away from Namgyal and carried it through the air away to its nest which was located high up in the ravine, out in the open, on a narrow projection of a perpendicular slate wall. From an adjoining rock the boys had been able to see into the nest in which a single young eagle was lying.

/37/ When in the evening Namgyal with a wildly beating heart told his father about the wolf's raid of the herd, the father did not say much and only admonished him to keep a good lookout; he knew only too well how rarely even a courageous herder succeeds in keeping the wolf away from the herd or in chasing it so that it must let go of the prey it once seized. He remembered that during such an attempt a wolf had once attacked him and had bitten his elbow, which he had held out against it, so viciously that even now he still felt frequent pains in his joint. On this occasion Lobsang Wanggyal [136] told his son how once yonder in Tagmachig during the winter a snow leopard (irbis or ounce, felis uncia) broke into a sheep stall and in one night strangled 26 sheep and goats. The robber hardly ate anything of the flesh of the animals; in the morning the startled farmer found the snow leopard still in the stall. It had been unable to get out because it could not open the door which had slammed shut from the inside. The animal was so drunk from the drinking of such quantities of blood that the farmer, together with two neighbors whom he had called in for help, was able to beat it to death with clubs and axes.

Namgyal remained aloof from all this activity. He t...
muzzle-loader, which he could handle with skill; he had killed many 411
ibex and many a wild sheep, and even wolves with it. He polished
the gun, cast some bullets, and filled his powder flask with gunpowder
which a Tibetan in Leh had prepared for him. Then he got out an
old, short sword which had a beautifully worked sheath covered with
turquoises. This sword was handed down to him from an ancestor who
had been a valiant worrior. Towards the end of the eighteenth century 721
the people of Ladakh undertook frequent pillaging expeditions into the
neighboring Baltistan. During these expeditions a Dragshos, who was
among the leaders, particularly distinguished himself by his boldness.
With his men he attacked by surprise a number of Balti villages and
brought back home with him rich spoils of cattle and money. For this
he received a piece of land near Kalatse from the king. Later, after
the defeat of the last of the Ladakh kings, one of the Dragshos was
offered the dominion over the land under the sovereignty of the Indian
Dogras (conquerors); however, he declined this dubious honor.

Something of the warlike spirit was also in Namgyal. He was 000
courageous and enterprising and he trusted his strong arms and his
weapons more than the magical arts of the lamas. His honest belief
in the helping and saving deities only went to strengthen his courage.
Thus, despite his youthfulness, he was the undisputed leader in all
other matters /155/ in the village, as well as in this commercial under-
taking.

The final preparations were now made. Wheat, barley, and 437
apricots were put into sacks; some had purchased cotton material,
calico, cloth, colored sashes, dye-stuffs, spices, and tobacco from
the Indian mercant, so that they would be able to do business in Jangtang.
Everything was packed into sacks. Each person who took part in the
expedition kept his wares strictly separate from those of the others.
Several of the Kalatse men had rifles, old muskets, and muzzle-loaders
which they brought out. Then they got the horses from the distant 231
meadow on the mountain, something which in itself took two days
since the horses had strayed far afield in their search for food along
the barren mountain slopes. The men mended the saddles and the
horse's headgear, the sacks, blankets, and tents. Finally they were
all ready. The horses had in the last few days received barley to eat
in addition to their usual fare--clover hay mixed with chopped straw--
so that they would be fortified for the journey. They looked good and
some of them were wild and frisky during the shoeing. The latter
operation was performed by the Kalatse men themselves. The most

231 unruly horses had to be tied and shoed while they lay on the ground. All this was carried out with great skill and adroitness by the men.

437 Now the people drove together about 200 sheep and goats
492 from their stables; these were to take part in the trip, serving as beasts of burden. Each animal was made to carry in a double sack a load of from 14 to 15 kilograms of wheat, dried apricots, or a corresponding quantity of other wares; aside from this each animal literally carried its own fleece to the market. The mountain sheep and goats are sturdy and extremely adroit climbers. However, there are many that succumb to the exertions of the long journey or that are torn to bits by the wolves or snow leopards.

487 In three days the expedition arrived a Leh, moving in easy
497 daily marches, in order to spare men and animals, and generally following the course of the Indus River. Most of the nine men went on foot, Drogpa Namgyal and two of the men each had a horse to ride on besides the horses they used for carrying burdens. It was the duty of the men on foot to drive on the pack horses and to lead them on the narrow, poor /156/ bridle paths, as well as to lead and keep together the herd of sheep and goats carrying the loads. In Leh, at the bazaar, they purchased some provisions and exchange wares, for the last time. Then they proceeded further along the Indus, through barren valleys, narrow gulleys, sandy, stony deserts, over high mountain passes, through torrential mountain streams, now in the scorching glare of the sun, now in icy cold, yes, even in bitter snow storms. In this way they finally arrived at the great plateau of Jangtang in the eastern part of Ladakh, after about one month's journey during which they engaged in trade along the way wherever an opportunity presented itself. The Jangtang upland plateau is situated in the territory of Greater Tibet, in the area under the jurisdiction of the Dalai Lama. Having arrived there the people from Ladakh visited a series of widely
[233] scattered nomads' camps. These nomads live year in and year out in their brown tents (re-po) woven from yak's hair, and they guard and tend their flocks of animals, sheep, a large, high-legged species, goats, horses, donkeys, and yaks. They move from one pasturing place to the next, depending simply on where there happens to be enough pasture and water. Big and strong and long-haired dogs (Tibetan mastiffs) help the nomads to keep their flocks of animals together and to protect them against wild animals. Their entire wealth consists of their herds, the rock salt which they break out of the numerous old lake beds, and of the natron which is found up there on the upland plateaus.

000 the statement that they would soon confess the "sin" to the lamas and that they would do penance for it with an offering /160/. When they spoke of the hunt, they never said: "Namgyal killed an antelope or a yak," but: "A yak, an antelope died (śi-soń)." Died? What from? From too much lead? (144)

262
231

144. Few Tibetans abstain entirely from the eating of meat; even most lamas, except those of the strictest sects, are meat eaters. In order to maintain the appearance of observing the prohibition to kill, there is a great deal of dissimulation. The meat is bought from the Muslim butcher, or the animal, sheep, goat, or yak, is brought to its death by tying its mouth and its nose so tightly with strings that the animal suffocates slowly amidst the severest pains. "It died," the people then say the themselves, "after all, we did not shed any blood."

000 The remainder of the journey passed by without special difficulties; one night wolves carried off two of their sheep and bit the neck of one horse so that it bled. But the other horses formed a circle and forcefully fended off the wolves, and with their hind hoofs they belabored one of the attackers so powerfully that he remained lying on the ground with broken limbs and ribs and could be beaten to death by the Ladakh men. A donkey and a horse with its load were carried off by the torrents at the crossing of one river and were lost. These were losses that were not easy to get over.

Quite discouraged and dejected, the travelers returned to Kalatse after an absence of just three months. Namgyal did not speak much about their experiences. The Break-leg man in (Kangchagspa) Yontan reported all the more about the battles with the bandits at which, in his presentation, he had performed heroic deeds. The people of Kalatse knew their Kangchagspa and teased him by having him tell the story over and over again because they knew that at each retelling the number of bandits "layed low" by the boaster, would increase.

Old Stobsldan, Namgyal's uncle, declared that never again he would take part in such a business trip which, after all, did not yield any profits anyway, and on which one risked one's life. The younger participants, on the other hand, said that if only all of them got good rifles they would go to Jangtang again the very next year.

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000 der of the mountain turned and waved. He was the stouthearted one who carried the dreadful load over Rothang.

492 Tashi (which means "good luck") was our new employee. He
465 was short and stocky, middle-aged, pleasant, quiet, efficient. He had with him his son, about fourteen years of age. They had ten horses and were going as far as Kyelang, three stages distant. I agreed to pay eight rupees a day for each riding horse, five rupees a day for each pack horse. The horses were the small Punjab type, not even ten hands high, with small feet and fairly sturdy shoulders. We rode two; the rest carried the baggage. Tashi and his son walked.

492 By the time the horses were packed, I knew that I could go with Tashi in confidence to the end of the earth. He was one of those quiet, steady, competent men who show the mark of the mountains. His horses were also good. They were fast-traveling animals. The riding ponies had no bridles, only halters. The saddles, which had no stirrups, were crude wooden pack saddles, piled with sacks and blankets. Though the saddles were not painful, it was more comfortable to walk, as I did most of the way to Gundala.

133 The Chandra canyon, between a mile and a half mile wide, is
137 deep and twisting, with the mountain walls going up on both sides at precipitous angles. There are here and there a few pine
• [231] trees along the river and fir trees on the benches. These high benches, the day we passed, were filled with sheep and goats, white-fleeced animals that from the distance looked like great patches of flowers such as one sees in the Cascades of Washing-
[311] ton when the squaw grass is in bloom. Now and then a bench close to the river had been planted in potatoes, millet, wheat, and a tall flowering plant that I first thought was a sunflower, called the *kuth*, which is grown for medicine. There were scatterings of yarrow, yellow violets, snapdragons, and delicate pinks along the trail; and now and then I saw whole acres of cowherbs in bloom —the tallest, most lush cowherbs I have ever seen.

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563 sider Lahulis inferior. A Tibetan can take a Lahuli woman for his
582 wife. But a Tibetan girl is not encouraged to marry a Lahuli man. The Lahuli man has indeed an unhappy position. The women on the south side of Rothang Pass do not covet him, partly because of his exploitation of his womenfolk, partly because there is a greater variety of food in Kulu than in Lahul. The women on the Tibetan side of the Himalayas do not want the Lahuli man because he is "inferior." Lahul is an in-between place—one from which men and women both want to escape. Perhaps that is one
533 reason for its sparse population. Perhaps that is one reason why the men have such sad and plaintive voices when they sing their folk songs.

The one I best remember—one sung for us by five male villagers of Jispa, the next village beyond Kyelang—is about the girl Angmo.

Angmo used to live with her parents when a child.
When she grew up she fell in love with a boy.
They married happily.
After marriage the girl left Lahul
And went and lived with her husband,
Forsaking her parents and brothers and sisters.•

423 These Lahuli folk have an in-between status in another respect.
421 While there are a few landed estates, the country is mostly popu-
• 231 lated by small farmers. The few Lahulis who own sheep and goats go north in the summer and south in the winter. The sheep one sees there in summer months come up from the Kangra for a few months' grazing in the high basins.

132 The rainfall in Lahul averages about twenty-three inches annually. May, June, and July are lush months. By August the ground is dried out and the grain is turning brown. By September the land is barren and dusty. October sees the passes clogged with snow. Lahul is then isolated until summer. November or

•See page 333, category 116

695 687 "Three miles below Jispa on the bench just below the junipers on the right hand of the Bhaga."

"That is government land."

"Yes."

"Did you pay for it?"

"No."

"Have you paid taxes?"

"No."

"Why not?"

"I have no money."

"How long have you been there?"

"Ten years."

"What crops do you grow?"

[243] "Barley and a few vegetables."

"How much barley a year?"

"One year I got very little. In other years just enough for me and my family. I have a wife and four children. They are over there" (pointing).

"Have you animals?"

• [231] "My brother and I have a dzo between us. He works land near me. We both live in Jispa and walk three miles to our land every morning. My wife walks too, but she is not strong any more. Is there land we can have closer to our home?"

"All this land is government land. If you want it, you must make application for it. Then you must pay taxes. You never made application. You just walked onto the land and claimed it. And you have never paid any taxes."

"That is true. But how can I pay?" he asked with despair in his voice.

687 651 This was the story over and over again. The sun had set and a cool wind whistling down from Baralacha Pass was rustling the papers on the table when the Tehsildar took a recess for the day. Later this friendly officer sat with Rahul and me eating dinner

They were friendly and hospitable, and curious over my camera 000
equipment. They were curious over me too—the first American
ever through Rupshu. These people[1] are not farmers; they are 233
pastoral people who live on their herds of sheep, goats, and yaks.
They run the small Purik sheep that have a fine wool and that
lamb twice a year. They are primarily meat-eaters; and they stood
grinning at me, showing front teeth missing.

They had good fast horses which we took to Leh. We wanted 492
to reach Gya that night, thirty-two miles from Pagmur and
twenty-four miles from Zara. The mules could not stand this
grueling trip in one day, for we had Staglang La Pass, nearly
eighteen thousand feet high, to cross. So we unpacked the mules,
put their baggage on eight yaks, took saddle ponies for ourselves,
and headed for Gya. We paid well for the service—three rupees [465]
eight annas per stage per animal, or $1.40 per animal from Zara
to Gya, plus one rupee (twenty cents) for each of the six herders
of the yaks.

The yak is an ox, low and powerful. It has large, sweeping horns 231
and long fur, usually black. There are some wild yaks in Ladakh 492
and Tibet. But most are domesticated. Their milk and butter are
widely used. The butter is indeed indispensable for *gur gur cha*; [757]
and when rancid, it is considered not only especially good for
gur gur cha but for the massaging of aching muscles as well. The
dung is used for fuel; and it burns with a hot, light blue flame and
no crackling. The yak's tail is sold commercially as a whisk to
keep off flies or as a beard for Santa Claus.

The yak is *Bos grunniens*, and, true to the name, it does groan
as it walks. The natives have no halter or bridle on a yak, only
a ring through its nose, which always seems to be bleeding. Yaks
can carry huge weights—250 or 350 pounds. A yak thrives on high
altitudes; the higher the better, it seems. It can go practically
anywhere in the high Himalayas, as high as man can go. It does
not have man's great adaptability, for it would perish at even the
relatively high altitude of Manali, 6,400 feet. It is at its best from

[1] [The Rupshupa -- Analyst]

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15,000 feet on up. Here it finds the velvety yak grass that is hardly visible at a distance. Here it also finds moss and lichens, of which it is especially fond.

I found out how sturdy the yak is. I climbed aboard one to sample its riding qualities. I sat for a while on its broad back, my legs sticking out rather awkwardly. Then I hung onto its thick hair with one hand as I urged it into a walk with my heels. Suddenly the powerful beast, with a quick motion of its hind legs, tossed me as neatly as my mountaineer friend—the late Roy Schaeffer of Oregon—used to flip a flapjack. And before I could rise and restore my dignity, the yak turned, gave me a glowering look, and went groaning down the trail.

The yak does not move fast. It took our yaks eleven hours to go the twenty-four miles from Zara to Gya. They got a late start and did not arrive until 1:30 A.M. But they came through on a steady grind that took them through a blizzard atop Staglang La Pass, a blizzard that swept the peaks shortly after our horses and mules had crossed, a blizzard that at the altitude of Staglang La Pass might well have killed animals less sturdy.

The hard, fast ride I had on my Tibetan pony from Zara to Gya was exhilarating—as exhilarating as most (though not all) of the moments aboard Moti were dull.

Moti was my mule, a bay with a few white spots. Why I drew Moti from the musical eleven that we met in Kyelang I never knew. Perhaps it was because Rup Singh thought Moti met the requirements of the typical American mule and therefore would seem familiar and friendly to me. Perhaps it was an unkind fate that turned Moti toward me. Perhaps it was some old association with Moti's mottled nose—an association going back to the trails of Oregon or Washington—that caused my hand to caress it. Whatever the cause, Moti was mine a few minutes after the mule train met us at the dak bungalow. Moti was mine almost until "death do us part." And Moti did not wait long before flirting with destiny.

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CHAPTER 15

HEMIS MONASTERY

After crossing Staglang La Pass we dropped about two thousand feet almost straight down a mountain wall and followed a narrow, winding canyon to Gya, the first village we had seen since we left Jispa seven days earlier. Gya, with a dozen or more flat-roofed stone houses, was plain and ugly though it sat in a waving sea of lush barley fields. Below Gya the canyon widens out until in twelve miles it opens into the Indus Valley. We followed a small clear-water stream, ideal for trout, all the way down. The canyon was bleak and bare, more sterile-looking than anything Arizona can offer. There were partridge or chukar in the canyon—buff-colored like those in Persia and a bit smaller than our grouse. The walls and slopes of the canyon were being combed by goats herded by barefoot girls dressed in rags. These girls had long slingshots made of string and leather which they whirled, throwing rocks at the goats to turn the herd and shift its direction.

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quarter to a half mile wide. The canyon walls rise over Hemis three or four thousand feet to peaks eighteen thousand feet and more high. There are springs of pure cold water in the nulla; and thick stands of the Lombardy-type poplar fill the deep hollow with shade. 792 346

The main monastery building is a crude three-storied affair built in typical Tibetan fashion—low doors, rock walls, wood rafters, mud floors, and flat mud roofs. This massive building houses most of the lamas who make Hemis their home and headquarters. It feeds them in great dining halls and sleeps them in tiny cells. There are numerous small houses scattered along the nulla, residences of the Incarnate Lama, the higher-ranking lamas, and lamas who are married (Hemis is a monastery of the Red Sect, which, in contrast to the Yellow Sect, permits its lamas to marry). There is one house reserved for visitors. It lies in deep shade by a brook that runs below the main monastery building. It has one large room with a dirt floor and a covered veranda that opens on a grassless yard. The lama who greeted us took us there, and we were about to unload our pack train when the order was countermanded. We were invited instead to the residence of the Incarnate Lama.

We dropped to the creek bed and then climbed sharply to a poplar orchard on the far side of which were several low houses. Tibetans have a custom of chaining mastiffs to their houses. The Ladakhis follow suit. These mastiffs spend their lives tied by a chain fastened to massive collars. As a result of their confinement, they develop ferocious qualities. They lunge at passers-by, straining at their collars and growling viciously. There was such a mastiff on the top of the veranda of the house next to the home of the Incarnate Lama. Our coming produced a terrific uproar. The dog seemed to be almost choking with rage as he jumped at us again and again. The sight of us set up such a powerful turmoil in him that he barked the whole of the two days we were there. Every time I woke in the night he was still barking. 792 231

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

all, and must have a detailed description later on. Then look at their dwellings, strange habitations of mud and stones, crudely put together with crooked lines and strange little tiny windows, with or without a rough wooden framework. The larger of these may have a wooden partition down the centre of the framework, and the upper edge of the latter is curved upwards in each partition, adding the expression of an eyebrow to the aperture. Through such windows it is quite common to see the solemn face of an old goat looking out, his long beard waggling to his meditative munch as he surveys the street below. How strange it seems to our Western ideas to have a goat upstairs and free to wander all over the house. But here we shall slowly find that in one example after another "the things go the other way." We are not exactly in Looking-glass Land, but we are certainly in some sort of Wonderland, where many things are upside-down, topsy-turvy or just the reverse of our notions of correctness, and where the strangest incongruities prevail.

To start with the houses, our best rooms are on the ground floor; as you ascend the rooms decrease in importance, and the uppermost ones are relegated to lumber or to the least important members of the household. In Ladak, on the contrary, the higher you go the better the rooms, and the flat roof is the most used place of all, especially in the sunny hours of winter, when many domestic activities can be carried out in the warm sunshine there, and thereby the precious fuel be saved. Often there is a small porch on one side, a shelter from the keen spring winds or a shade from the heat of summer. The fact that horse-manure or cows' dung is spread out in patches on the floor to dry, or that the chimney of the summer kitchen-room is busy fulfilling its functions near-by, does not at all detract from the desirability of this lofty open-air sitting room. Descending, we come to a large room with an open verandah, which can be closed in by

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 / AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

short planks, and whose wooden framework may be crudely carved; this will be the summer kitchen-living-room. Its winter counterpart, a smaller, darker room, will be found on the second floor, the windows being glazed by small panes in the most advanced houses, while the others are stuffed with bundles of rags or closed in with pieces of paper, for which we often receive requests at the beginning of winter. The ground floor serves to stable the cattle, who thus provide a warm atmosphere at the base of the house in the severe winter, a mild basement heating. What we may thus term the biological warmth of winter concentration is shared also by the fowls, who arrive at night in the winter kitchen-living-room, and by this means are persuaded to lay occasionally even throughout that bitter season.

Our idea of the place for a flower garden is just outside the front door and around the house, but these people cannot spare land there, for, if the house is built on land, which can be irrigated, every bit must be used for agriculture, and any spare little plot for a few vegetables. But their appreciation of flowers is seen by the boxes full of gay blossom on roof or balcony, and the place for a "buttonhole," in the absence of our tailor-made provision, is behind the ears, giving a much more saucy effect, especially when so near to sparkling brown eyes. Not only may there be a flower garden on the roof, but it is not uncommon to see a tent pitched there for shade and summer sleeping purposes. Sleep itself is most easily invited in the knee-elbow position, clothes being removed and used to augment the bedding. In spite of this unfavourable position the Ladaki is not guiltless of snoring, but much the reverse! In our civilization the poorest will aim at being tidy outside. Not so the Ladaki. He wears his oldest dress outside, and his best one underneath, reversing the order for special occasions. Roughly sewn patches are applied at any angle; there is no need to attempt invisible mending as we do, for the more patches with the edges over-

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As we ride
622 up, the chief gipsy appears. He is a short, stout, healthy-looking young fellow, and his good-natured smile of greeting seems to us to presage a successful deal. He wears long
741 trousers of homespun, and a short jacket of the same material.
301 A Ladaki hat is placed jauntily upon his head, and his rather large earrings make him resemble his Spanish brother still more. He is followed by several others of the same ilk. His spouse, too, makes her appearance, and a nice picture she is. Her happy, jolly, round, fat face shines from the amount of butter with which she has anointed it, and is surmounted by a half-circle of red material with large stones of turquoise matrix inserted. Her well-covered body testifies to good living and plenty of fresh air. There is nothing of the Zenana lady about this dame. Two or three children play happily around her, but their dress is so scanty that one's
197 description may be still more so. We address them with our Ladaki "zhu," and make a few further pleasant remarks. Although their dialect is quite different from theirs, they understand [illegible] only ours, but that of most of the people among
437 [illegible] they live and trade. "Have you a pony to sell?" we
563 ask, and are told that they have such marvellous ones for this
● 731 very purpose, that they defy description, and as for their amble, well, riding them is like sitting in a chair. I am not sure that they did not say *raeil* instead of chair, for anything that has wheels is designated by this Ladaki pronunciation of our English word "rail," even though it be only the missionary's perambulator. "What sort of an amble has this pony of yours?" we next inquire. "A *'Stongyor* of course" comes the rejoinder. Now this needs some explanation. In countries like Ladak, where one has such long treks and few pieces of road that can be trotted on, the most comfortable and least tiring pace a pony can possess is the amble, with the result that if a pony does not have one naturally, he must try to acquire it by having the two legs on the same side tied together. The natural amble is called *stongyor*, which means

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

"empty amble," for the pony uses it even when he is not ridden, whilst the *labyor* or "learnt amble" can only be obtained when a rider on his back holds the reins fairly firmly, and unfortunately an animal, like his human rider, forgets his lesson in less time than it takes to learn it. A *labyor* therefore minimizes the value of a pony. To come back to our gipsy, he soon sends one or two of his servants for one of the said wonderful animals, which seems as good as its description. But we, too, know something about ponies, and, therefore, request the rider to dismount and drive the pony along empty, with the result that the amble disappears, for it is only a *labyor*. We then inquire the price of the beast, and are told that as a favour we shall have him for Rs160, but as our opinion on this score does not harmonize with his either, no deal results. This does not trouble our friend much, for he knows that by taking the pony down country he will get an even higher sum, and no inhabitant of the Himalayas ever argues that "time is money," or that a quick turnover of cash is a good business proposition.

This roving tribe, originating from Tibet, subscribes to the Buddhist creed. Like our own gipsies they are properly organized, having their own lawful king, and under him Tehsildars (magistrate), headmen and other officials necessary to keep the community in order, and although they are to be met with here, there and everywhere, they seem to be under quite good control.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 Usually perched on almost inaccessible crags, from its com-
361 manding elevation it can not only view the activities of the field-workers in the terraces below, but can discern the whole domestic life of roof and yard at its feet.

361 The road both enters and leaves the village through a
487 *Chorten* gate. Suppose a child sets up two plain bricks with
346 a third across the top, and on this placed a fat Chess pawn, he would have quite a good model of these *chorten*-crowned archways. But these are still more fascinating and picturesque in spring, when surrounded by apricot-trees in full blossom and seen against a background of azure sky and glittering
343 peaks, for the snow then is still low on the mountains. Between
351 entrance and exit, the road is usually just a rough path trodden out at the base of the hill, with the fields below and the houses above, varied here and there by a rough bridge of logs covered with stones and mud, and by an occasional water-course which must be jumped as it carries its clear ice-cold water along. The stables for ponies or cattle, who are brought into the bottoms of the houses by night, in winter at any rate, may be enclosures roughly walled in by stones, balanced on
[473] each other to a height of four to six feet. These rough walls are also built as boundaries to fields, where there is no natural delimitation, as by the edge of a terrace, or to enclose small orchards of apricot and apple-trees, or even to fence in a "bagh," that is, a small plantation of trees, whose wood is so precious, and whose luscious bark attracts the cattle. A slight push with the hand topples over enough wall to make a convenient gap, easily replaced, for entrance and exit, and, after the winter months, during which the donkeys and sheep, and especially the nimble goats, are allowed to wander at will picking up such bits of roots and fodder as they only know how to find, there are few walls that do not need re-
● 731 building. Round the edges of the growing cornfields throughout the summer cows and goats may be seen feeding on the scant grass, always either tethered or led by a small

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

child or perhaps by a mother with one or two children in her wake. A few houses are also scattered here and there among the fields, while in a larger village, many families have also a "country seat." This *yarsa*, or summer-place, usually consists of a small hut with a stable below, and a kitchen-room above, leading on to a balcony or flat roof. These may be on the outskirts of the village, or a mile or two up the valley behind. Anywhere on the hillsides, not too far distant from the rest of the community, where a spring or brook is available to water a small patch of cultivated land, these *yarsas* may be found, while in a large village such as Kalatse a considerable proportion of the population move in the summer away to the hills, taking their cattle with them to the so-called *brogs*.

Coming back to the village one often notices a little roofed balcony placed over the front-door, containing its three miniature *chortens*, coloured red, white and blue, with its demoniacal gods crudely painted on the wall behind. Near the house a young girl may be seen with a small stone in her hands pressing out the oil of apricot-kernels on a large flat boulder with a hole in the middle, into which the fluid runs. This oil is used for cooking purposes, for dressing the hair, and for burning in the little vessels before the altar. On the high road we have met in early summer donkeys and ponies loaded with sackfuls of these apricot kernels, proceeding down to Kashmir to sell them for the same purposes. They come from Baltistan, where the best apricots of this part of the world grow, and one can picture the inhabitants sitting out in the winter sunshine, when there is no field-work to occupy them, and cracking open the innumerable stones necessary to fill all these sacks with kernels. The seeds of a species of mustard plant are used for the same three purposes, though the mustard-oil is not so strong as that of the apricot.

In the house of the headman of the village, and in many of the better-class homes of the town, one room is dedicated as a little private chapel, used chiefly by the master of the house FOR READING HIS HOLY BOOKS AND REPEATING HIS PRAYERS.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the service than a continuous whirl of social functions in some Indian hill-station. One thinks wistfully of two "subs." who had saved up for such a holiday, one of them being the son of a man who had shot up here years ago, when he himself was in the Indian Army. But, alas, having reached Leh, they found they had only sufficient money to get back to their station, and had to give up the idea of shooting. Of wild sheep we have several kinds, most of them having splendid horns. It is said that these are so heavy that eventually their owners die of starvation, as they get too feeble to carry them and go in search of food.

To begin with, we have the Sharpu, which live on the lower hills and during the winter come right down into the fields. Out shooting one day, my shikari, a Ladaki hunter, and I spotted five of these animals on a hill opposite to us, and soon after noticed a couple of wolves stalking them. I got within five yards of the latter, as they lay waiting behind a rock. By the time I had jumped off my pony and had loaded my gun, they had got quite out of range, although they seemed to be slinking away quite slowly. We then watched the Sharpu, and to our surprise they came clean across the valley to the very spot where the wolves had been waiting for them, and passed within ten yards of us, even stopping to look at us. Needless to say they were does, and ladies one does not shoot. Large numbers of these must be killed by other predatory animals. Another time we found a Sharpu with horns of thirty inches, which had only just been brought down by a snow-leopard. At last I hoped to get one of the latter, which are fairly plentiful, though as yet I had never met one. But, alas, he got wind, and evaded me. The Ladakis hate these snow-leopards for they do much harm to their flocks. In order to catch them, they dig deep holes in the ground and build overhanging walls round. They then put down the sheep, whose bleating attracts the leopard. Having jumped in, he cannot negotiate the overhanging wall and meets an

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of course to be manured, though in practice the peasant cultivates the virgin soil for two or three years before enriching it with manure.

Owing to the scarcity of wood, the dung of cattle is dried in the sun and used for fuel, so that manure for fields is at a high premium. Recourse has therefore to be made to human manure liberally mixed with earth. In many villages public latrines are constructed for the reception of this form of manure. Again, owing to the shortage of fodder, the Tibetans never lay down straw as bedding for their animals. To increase the quantity of manure they simply add layers of earth to the droppings of the cattle in the stables, and in spring they take it away in baskets or in sacks to their fields before ploughing. To supplement the poor supply of grass and straw for their sheep and goats, the farmers use the bark of willow trees by cutting the branches and letting these animals strip them. The willow is the most popular and beneficial tree in the country, for it provides both fuel for the home and fodder for the goats and the sheep. Reforestation of the willow, as also the poplar tree, requires little effort, for all that is necessary is to stick the saplings in the ground, preferably near a watercourse, and they immediately take root.

According to the dryness of the ground it is watered previously or subsequently to ploughing. The manure is carried in sacks loaded upon donkeys or in baskets carried by the women. It is then scattered over the field and ploughed into the furrows in which the seed is sown. Sometimes the seed is broadcast on the land and then ploughed in. The plant is allowed to grow to the height of five or six inches, when a light supply of water is applied at intervals of a few days until the crop is vigorous enough to tolerate a weightier supply of water conducted along the ingeniously constructed watercourses.

Many of these watercourses are two or three miles long, depending upon the distance to the source of the water supply. Their gradients, which are usually about three feet wide by one and a half feet deep, are cleverly contrived so as to prevent a great quantity of water from flowing at one spot and causing the earth banks to break. Where an almost perpendicular cliff or solid rock is encountered, the water is conducted along wood gutters hollowed out of pine trees, forming a gallery round the cliff or rocky abutments. To conserve the supply of water large or small dams are constructed, which are guarded by a party of men chosen by the village to control the supply to the fields immediately beneath it. The water supply is of such immense importance and so hard to come by that meticulous care is taken in rationing it out to the various farm holdings in the neighbourhood. Failing an adequate supply of water for irrigation purposes it is futile to attempt to plough land, for no reliance can be placed on natural rainfall, especially in Western Tibet. The village watercourses are kept in repair by the farmers whose fields receive water from them.

Ploughing is performed by a pair of oxen (dzos—a hybrid of the yak and the cow) driven by a ploughman without reins. They are guided with the utmost precision by the voice or by a willow wand. The plough is made entirely of willow wood except for the point, which is formed by a small piece of iron. The whole structure is simple, inexpensive, and

16: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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On the 15th day of the 2nd month another festival called *Tsu-go-ki-la* follows, during which the usual orgy of drinking and dancing goes on. This time each household has to provide 10 lb. of barley which is brewed into beer for the village carousals. At the *Dun-chang* festival a sheep is sacrificed in the usual way customary in Lahul, whilst the *la-ma-chod-pa* festivities are introduced by a choral religious service, when each house provides 10 lb. of rice, 4 oz. of butter, and 1 lb. of barley, the total amount of food, etc., being consumed by the villagers over a period of three days.

The *Choi-dro-li* festival marks the time when the low-class blacksmiths circumambulate the prayer-walls and *chorten* (cenotaphs of departed saints) beating their drums the while. This

FIG. 3.—OFFERINGS AT THE SEASON OF PLOUGHING.

1. *Shol*, A PLOUGH; 2. *Nyu-shing*, A YOKE FOR THE OXEN; 3. *Mar-zen*, A FLOUR-AND-BUTTER OFFERING; 4. *Kal-chor*, POT OF BEER OFFERING; 5. *Song-shé*, AN INCENSE OFFERING OF JUNIPER; 6. *La-shen*, BUCK-WHEAT CAKE OFFERING.

religious exercise completed, they collect alms from the villagers, each house providing as alms, one large plate of barley flour, one of wheat flour, one of buckwheat flour, and a pot of beer. It is also customary for each person to place a *mar-zen* (butter and flour) or buckwheat flour on a slab of stone for the ravens to eat.

During the third month the festival of *Bri-shu* is held, when all the cattle which have been fed through the winter for neighbours unable owing to scarcity of fodder to feed their own animals, have to be returned to their original owners. The usual quantity of beer is again collected for a communal beer-drinking feast, and an offering of *drang-ryyas* made to the local god. It is at this time too, that the communal shepherds are chosen, and the "Masters-of-ceremony" for the ensuing year are elected.

18: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1936 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

782 of it) was that of a woman who was buried
173 alive.
114 Local tradition has it that she pronounced a curse upon the land with her last breath. She prayed that none of the inhabitants should grow older than she was at her death; and the people still believe that her curse is being carried into effect nowadays.

782 In modern times human sacrifices are substituted by animal ones, and in the various valleys of Western Tibet the sacrificial customs, though slightly different in detail, are at any rate uniform in principle.

The method of sacrificing animals is that of making a deep incision sufficiently large to permit the introduction of the hand, and then tearing the heart out, after which that organ is offered to the local deity.

In Kyelang one sheep is sacrified in this way during the spring of each year, each household taking its turn in providing the sacrificial sheep.

At Chugtra, a neighbouring village, the local god is regarded with great fear, and it is thought that no less than twelve sheep, not to mention large quantities of flour and butter, must be offered to this ferocious deity annually.

Eight of these sheep, chosen from the communal flock, are slaughtered simultaneously; their hearts being torn out, and certain savoury parts of the carcases offered to the idol, whilst part is consumed by the people. The remaining four sheep are similarly sacrificed at intervals of one month.

● [231] It is also customary, when slaughtering animals for food, to tear the hearts out of them.

At Yanaped, a yak is sacrified triennially. It is first well fed, and then on the day of sacrifice the beast is heavily loaded and driven hither and thither by the people, who abuse it atrociously by throwing stones, clods of earth, or anything they can lay their hands on, until it is reduced to a state of utter exhaustion. It is then seized, and its heart having been torn out, is immolated.

Sheep are frequently similarly dealt with, a plank of wood being securely tied on its back,

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
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AGRICULTURAL METHODS IN LAHOUL, WES

90 The peasants in Western Tibet are in the main agriculturalists, though on the high plateaus of that country (14,000 to 16,000 feet above sea level), there are to be found large tribes of nomads who follow a purely pastoral occupation.

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Whilst both men and women engage in field work, it is the latter sex upon whom the burden of farming really rests. The share of agricultural pursuits which falls to the male sex consists of building walls and repairing them, sowing, ploughing, repairing watercourses, building corn stacks, and assisting at the threshing operations.

[461]

The women on the other hand are so fully employed in the running of the farms that they have little leisure for pilgrimages to sacred

[437]

shrines, or visits to far distant relations. The men folk in Lahoul occupy their time during the summer months in wool trading, and travelling hither and thither with merchandise.

The farm duties of the female sex are the carrying and spreading of manure on the fields in spring and autumn, harrowing or beating the clods of earth in the wake of the ploughmen, making ridges in parallel or oblique lines over the fields to render irrigation easier, placing stones, sticking stones in the ground vertically for diverting the water during the process of watering, weeding, once, when the first blades of barley or wheat appear above the ground, and again, when the ears have formed, and it is easy to pluck out the long weeds with the hands.

Irrigation, reaping, threshing, winnowing and carrying in of the crops are performed by the women, with occasional help from the men when such are available.

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In Lahoul, where the snowfall in winter is heavy, the time for beginning agricultural operations varies slightly each year, though the middle of April is usually the time when farm work is contemplated.

The various occupations of the agriculturalist

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

A Second Crop.

241 In recent years the peasants have shown considerable enterprise by sowing two crops in a year, the first being that of barley, followed by a crop of buckwheat.

How Grass and Straw are sold.

435 When selling grass, the peasant disposes of it at the rate of one rupee per two 'martacks' (a martack being a load of grass which can be enclosed by a leather rope 24 cubits in length).

[482] Similarly, straw is sold by the martack, but in order to carry this load it is necessary to use two ropes of 24 cubits length, and adjust them so as to form a sort of net. Three of these loads of straw can be bought for a rupee.

241 *Method of Sowing.*

The seed is first scattered over the field and then ploughed in with a light plough which can easily be carried on one's shoulder. The plough

● [231] is drawn by *dzos* (male hybrid of a yak and a cow), whereas in other parts of Tibet the seed is thrown into the furrows.

Occasionally a harrow made of thorns tied together is drawn across the ploughed field by *dzos*, though the usual practice is to beat the clods of earth with mattocks.

427 *Letting Land.*

It often happens that a farmer will let his land

241 to another, because he is too short-handed to cultivate it himself, or because he contemplates a trading expedition into the interior of Tibet. The arrangement that is made therefore is that the tenant receives half the crop in return for seeding, the seed being supplied by the tenant, ploughing, irrigating, weeding, threshing and winnowing the crop, whilst the landowner pays the revenue and the cost of repairing and watching the watercourse supplying the field with water.

249 *Rusta* (*Inula Helenium*).

Of late years the peasants have engaged energetically in the development of a spicy root called *Rusta* (Inula Helenium). This root was originally smuggled into the country from the Kashmir State which has the monopoly of *Rusta*. It is readily grown and, when matured, dried and sold, yields a handsome profit, its cost price being about Rs. 2 and 8 annas per lb.

Exchange of Labour.

476 As most transactions between the peasants are

[436] conducted by way of exchange in goods or labour, little money is passed from hand to hand.

For instance, if a farmer requires three or four

439 grain from Kulu, a neighbouring state. Thus
273 the wholesale manufacture of beer from locally-grown produce has an economic significance as serious as it is unwise.

The Care of Livestock.

231 The people are on the whole kind to their animals and feed them as well as they are able with the limited yield of fodder at their disposal.

From December until April, the heavy snowfall in Lahoul precludes the possibility of grazing cattle. The animals have therefore to be housed on the ground floor of the houses. They are never bedded as in western countries.

When the supply of hay is exhausted the cattle are fed entirely on straw, this being again supplemented in the spring by the bark of willow branches cut and thrown into the pen to be peeled off by the sheep, goats and cows.

The willow tree is extensively cultivated owing to its use both for fodder and fuel.

It is customary for a peasant with more cattle than he can conveniently feed, to hand his surplus livestock to a neighbour to keep and feed from December to April, the price for the cattle thus treated being three rupees per head, and four or

five rupees per pony. Provided that the farmer has sufficient fodder to feed his own and his neighbour's cattle, he is glad to get the extra heads in order to increase his supply of manure. 231

Conclusion.

Though the total yield of crops is meagre, as is to be expected in high altitudes and in a practically rainless country, the farmer gets as much out of the land as can well be expected. 241 511

Generally speaking he is very poor, and the prospect of famine is never far removed from him. Were it not for the wool trade carried on between the highlands of Tibet and Lahoul, by way of supplementing the slender harvest he reaps, the Lahouli would be far worse off economically. [439]

He does not take kindly to improved methods of agriculture, owing to the conservative attitude of the community as a whole. 241 511 185

The slow penetration of western civilization is, however, leading to a slight increase in agricultural activity, in that Lahoulis are now beginning to open up virgin soil which has lain uncultivated for centuries. 177

At best the struggle for existence in so elevated a region as Lahoul is a real and stern one.

[77(a)]

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

(*d*) Everybody sees only his neighbour's fault, not his own. 539 577 000

(*e*) *Stagna* = tigernose, on account of a hill of such shape. In the Instrumental *shores*, the *s* is pronounced distinctly, although in pure Ladakhi *shores* would be spoken *shorei*.

20. (*a*) ཆུའི་ཚོད་ལ་ལྟ་སྟེ། ཉ་ལ་སྙར་བཟུམ་མ་བདང་།། 539 577

(*b*) chu'ithsod'la lta'ste, nya'la bar'zum ma tang'.

(*c*) Do not grasp a fish, unless you know the depth of the water.

(*d*) Do not accuse a man before the court, unless you know how rich he is. (Refers to the former bad management of justice in Ladakh).

(*e*) The *ma* = not, of the second sentence silently refers also to the first. 000

21. (*a*) རྟ་ཞོན་མགོ་ཆག། བོང་ཞོན་ལག་ཆག།། 539 577 492

(*b*) sta'zhon go'chag, bong'zhon lag'chag.

(*c*) Horse-riding [may cause] head-breaking, donkey-riding [may cause] hand-breaking.

(*d*) It is safest to remain low and humble.

(*e*) The two sentences consist each of a two-syllabled *Comp. det.* 000

22. (*a*) དཔའ་རྨིག་པ་རྒྱབ་ཅེས་མཐོང་སྟེ། 539 231● 577
བོང་དྲྭི་ར་གོ་མ་སྐྱང་།།

(*b*) sta'la shmig'pa gyab'ces thong'ste,
bon'gui ra'go ma skyang'.

(*c*) Seeing [them] shoeing a horse, you must not stretch the donkey's foot [for shoeing].

(*d*) Do not imitate high people and become a fool.

23. (*a*) བྱ་བོན་མེད་ན་ལག་མི་དང་། 539 577 426
ཚེར་ཀ་མེད་ན་དཀའ་ཉེས།།

(*b*) bu'lon med'na lag'midang'
thser'ka med'na star'gan nyos'

(*c*) If you have no debts, you may be security for another; and if you have no sorrow, buy an old horse!

(*d*) A rich and happy man may do some stupid thing.

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

539

(*d*) Do not laugh at another man's misfortune, the same might easily come to you.

(*e*) The second sentence in full would be: *stingmanas rgod ma shor*, from the follower a laugh must not flee. 000

37. (*a*) སྟག་སྣ་ནས་ཁྱི་ཡོང་འདུག་ཟེར་ཏེ། 133 539

ཞ་འབུག་ནས་རྡོ་ཁུར་ཆ་རུག།

(*b*) stag'nanā khyi'yongdug zer'te
zha'bugnā rdo'a khurte cha'rug.

(*c*) Saying there comes a dog out of Stagna [a village four miles from Zhabug] they go carrying stones out of Zhabug.

(*d*) Do not be afraid, there will be a helper.

(*e*) *Zhabug* = *zhabub* = falling headlong into a bog; *charug* = cha'adug; the *d* of *'adug* becomes an *r* after a stem ending in a vowel. 000

38. (*a*) མི་ངན་ཚོགས་གསེབ་ལ་ཆ་ན། 539

ཤིང་ངན་དུ་ངང་ཐུག།

(*b*) mi'ngan thsogs' sebla cha'na
shing' ngan ta'ku dang thug'.

(*c*) When a bad man goes into the middle of a forest, he meets [finds] only with bad crooked wood.

(*d*) A bad man sees only bad things and persons about him.

(*e*) *Taku* is the Ladakhi for crooked, crippled, ill-shaped. 000

39. (*a*) མི་ལ་སྐྱིད་མི་ཐག། 539

ར་ལ་ཚིལ་མི་ཐག།

(*b*) mi'la skyid' mithag'
ra'la thsil' mi thag'.

(*c*) Man cannot bear good fortune, [just as] a goat cannot bear [eat] grease.

(*e*) *Thagces* = *thegpa*. 000

40. (*a*) ཁྱི་ལ་སྒལ་དང་བེ་དོན་ཤོལ།། 539 231● 463

(*b*) khyi'a sgal'dang be'daa shol.

(*c*) To the dog is a load, what the plough is to a musician.

(*d*) Certain people cannot be expected to do real work.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

exchange local products for salt, borax and wool (including *pashmina*) with Tibetan traders. This merchandise they export to Kulu, again on the backs of their flocks, returning in the same way with grain for the winter. During November, the sheep are once again driven down to the lower Himalayan foothills, where they remain until the spring for pasturage. Many Lahulis find work of a menial kind in the plains during the winter months, especially in forestry.

The only time of the year when crops can be grown in Lahul is from May to November. The rest of the year, the snow lies thick on the ground and no cultivation is possible. The population of the country lives off only 5% of the total area, the rest being waste land unfit for agriculture. The water supply, in spite of the scanty rainfall, is made ample from glaciers and snow drifts, and the soil itself is extraordinarily fertile. The result is that crops are grown with amazing regularity and there has never been a famine in this part of India as long as anyone can remember.

The main food crops are barley, buckwheat and wheat – very much the same as they are in Tibet proper. Peas, potatoes, and grass to make hay for the cattle are also grown, and apple and plum trees produce a good harvest of fruit. Cash crops consist exclusively of *kut* or rusta (*Ru-s Ta*) (*Inula Helenium*), a leguminous plant the roots of which are used to make aromatic burning stocks or *joss-sticks*,[1] much in demand in Buddhist and other temples throughout countries of Chinese culture.

The men in Lahul plough and sow grain. The women weed the fields and collect the harvest. The men then thresh the crops or tread them by foot and with animals, winnowing the grain and storing the latter for the winter in their houses.

The domestic animals of Lahul are the *dzo* (a cross between a yak and a cow), sheep, goats, ponies and donkeys. There were no motorable roads at the time of my visit, but I understand that the Indian army is about to build a track passable for jeeps, which will enable them to reach Ladak from the south.

6. FIELD-WORK RESEARCH ON POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

If I have described the background of Lahul society at some length, it is because I believe this to have considerable bearing on the understanding of polyandry and on the reasons for its existence among the people of Tibetan affinity in the Himalayas. It is to be noticed that only those

[1] *Joss* = from the Portuguese *Dios*, God, hence "God-sticks".

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

resentatives of the other lamaist sub-divisions, the *Gelug-pa* (*dGe-Lugs-pa*) or Yellow Hats and the *Nyingma-pa* (*sNing-ma-pa*) or Red Hats. The Moslems are all Shias, often called Baltis because of their affinity to those people. An exception are the Sinkiang Turki and Uigur merchants who live in Leh and constitute a foreign minority; these people are orthodox Sunnis. They have intermarried with the local Buddhist Ladaki women, and their offspring are known in Leh as *Argons*; there are about 300 of these, and they are classified with the Moslems, to whose religion they always belong. A small ethnic group of distinctively different racial appearance, is constituted by the Dards living in the extreme west of Ladak. Culturally they are Buddhists like the bulk of the population, but they are fair with blue eyes, and their features are those of the Nordics of Europe.

The language spoken in the whole of Ladak is a dialect of Tibetan, the characteristic of which is that it is more archaic in form than the Tibetan spoken in Lhasa, where the language has gone through a process of considerable evolution. Dogra is spoken by the ruling officials of the Kashmir State and the Dards have a tongue of their own, an Aryan language.

In physical appearance, the ordinary Ladaki men and women resemble their Tibetan cousins in that they have broad, mongoloid faces, slit eyes and black, straight hair. The men, however, have more hair on their faces that the average Tibetan can grow, and this is a distinctive characteristic. The masculine costume is the same as I have described earlier for Rupchu, and I should add that both sexes wear their hair long, but plaited at the back. Washing among the peasantry is resorted to very little, and the general appearance of the Ladakis is untidy and dirty, not to mention the fact that they smell strongly. When the weather gets chilly in the winter, or when a voyage to some other part of the country necessitates going through a colder area, more clothes are simply worn over those already on the body, and temperatures are measured by the number of gowns one is obliged to put on.

The houses of the peasants and of the majority of the inhabitants of Leh are solid structures built of stone in traditional Tibetan style. They are pleasant to look at with their flat roofs, white-washed walls and gaily painted doors and windows (the lower part of which is usually broader that the upper part), but they have the drawback of having a stable for the horses and mules on the ground floor, and no chimney in the kitchen, the smoke being allowed to find its own way out through the cracks and joints of the ceiling and roof.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

105 for the payment of the tax. The size of the holding or the quality of the
423 soil is not taken into consideration, and this has led to complaints of
651 unjust imposition, which the government has tried in the past to remedy. Cash is the medium in which taxes are paid, but along the Trade Route, grain and wood are often collected by the authorities instead, as these products are badly needed by the traders on their way to and from Central Asia. In 1938, revenue totalled Rs. 50,823.

105 The *zhing-k'ham* is in every way comparable to the *khalsa khotis* of
423 Lahul, which are really *jeolas* or allotments by the State to individuals
429 as we have seen (see p. 309). They are unlimited in time and the tenant-occupant cannot be evicted. As it is said in Ladak, he will have his holding "until the Kang-ri (*Gangs-ri*) glacier melts", or "until the crow turns white", or "until Tso Mapan (Lake Manasarowar) dries up", or "until the rocks grow hair", or "until the rivers run uphill', or again "until the pencil cedar loses its leaves".

A tenant-occupant is allowed to sub-let his holding to another tenant, and he can do this also in perpetuity, so that the sub-tenant cannot be evicted either. These two types of tenancy, the one from the State and the other from a tenant of the latter, are called tenancy with occupation. They are to be distinguished from tenancy without occupation, which is limited in time, and from which the tenant can be evicted. Usually, a fixed time for the tenancy is decided upon in advance if it is to be of the limited type and after a certain date the temporary holder has no longer any right of occupation. Mohammedans all over Ladak can be evicted even from holdings in which there is tenancy with occupation if the family unit has no male issue, in which case, the holding either reverts to the State's tenant, or to the State, whichever the case may be. Tenancy with occupation in the case of Buddhists is hereditary, and a female heir in no way compromises the succession and the ownership of the holding, as we shall see.

105 Barley, wheat, peas, beans, are among the principal crops grown in
241 Ladak in the spring. In the autumn, buckwheat, millet and turnips are cultivated, together with a certain amount of fodder grasses for the
[134] cattle. The soil is sandy nearly everywhere, and careful manuring is essential. Earth is often brought from the hill-sides for top-dressing of the fields, and it is not uncommon to see this being done when the snow is still lying on the ground, in order to hasten the thaw. Ploughing
[133] is done with *dzos* (hybrids of yak and cow), which, together with ordinary cattle and ponies, constitute the domestic animals to be found in Ladak. The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

565 241 651 that burden which they are able to make some profit out of by employing labourers.

The grain which is most prolific and which is grown to the 241 greatest extent is grim, or loose-grained barley, and it is the meal of this grain that the Ladākhīs mostly eat. Grim is a hardy plant; it is cultivated even at the height of 15,000 feet; this height indeed is exceptional; there is only one place at that altitude where it grows, about twelve acres being there sown with it; but at 13,700 and 14,000 feet there are villages dependent on its cultivation. At lower levels, besides the grim, [438] wheat is grown. But little of this is consumed by the Ladākhīs themselves; they grow it for the market, for the use of the people of the town and of the travelling merchants. Wheat does well up to 11,500 feet; it is cultivated, but with less success, even at 12,800 feet. Peas, and barley (of the kind common in other countries) are crops that grow at almost as great heights as any. This barley is given to horses. In the lower parts of Ladākh—from 10,500 or 10,000 feet downwards—two crops can be got off the same land. I think that barley or grim is, commonly, the first and millet the second crop. Rice does not grow in Ladākh. Maize has been tried in a garden without much success; the ears of it which I saw were only four inches long.

Every crop, as has been said, requires irrigation for its growth; several times has the land to be watered to bring on the plant. In the middle of Ladākh, if there be a sufficient supply of water, the crop is secure; there sunshine never fails for the ripening of it. In Zānskār, however, which is near the most snowy range, and in some of the very high parts, there is sometimes a failure of the sun-warmth necessary to ripen the grain.

• [231] Ploughing is done chiefly with the hybrid of the yāk bull and the common cow; this they call *zo* if male and *zomo* if female. The yāk itself is not good for the plough.* The corn is sometimes reaped with a sickle, sometimes pulled up by the roots from the loose soil.

492 * The yāk, however, is very useful for carrying burdens. The Ladākhīs earn a good deal as carriers of merchants' goods with their yāks, their zos, and their ponies.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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flourish, and there are generally some one or two buildings of a better character than the ordinary peasant's cottage—as a monastery and a village headman's house—which brighten up the place. A character of the villages here—which those of the rest of Ladākh have not—is the enclosure of the fields with dry thorn hedges; these are necessary for a protection for them from the ponies of the travellers who pass through this country on their way to Yārkand. Another peculiarity is that a large number of the fields are laid in for grass; the letting of the pasture to the travelling merchants being a profitable business.

For equal altitudes the climate of Nubrā is nearly the same as that of Central Ladākh, except that probably the winter snowfall is, as regards the valley, somewhat less. Between each fall of snow so much of it disappears by evaporation and by the wind drifting it, that, throughout the winter, the cattle, sheep, and goats are able to graze in the low pasture grounds, only at night are they taken in under cover. Some of the villages have mountain pastures, to which the flocks are driven in summer time; but the climate is so dry that these afford but very scanty pasturage. The vegetable products are nearly the same as in Central Ladākh. The naked barley is the most general crop; wheat is grown in nearly all the villages, but not in large quantities, as the people themselves do not consume it. There is a little fruit—apples, walnuts, and apricots; of apricots the sweeter sort ripen only in the Shāyok Valley below the junction of the rivers; in this part also melon and water-melon ripen. Unmārū, a village which has a southern aspect, is the best place for fruit in Nubrā. The people of Nubrā, under the head of Ladākhī, have been described in the last chapter. There is this difference in them when compared with those of the near neighbourhood of Leh, that they are taller and thinner. The difference seems to be due to local circumstances. I could not trace it to any admixture of other blood. The characteristics of high cheek-bones and elongated eye are found in almost all. The customs of the Nubrā people, as far as I know, differ in no respect from those of the people of Central Ladākh.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AV4

rise above 20,000 feet originate glaciers; there are small ones in the hollows of several such peaks; but there is no great snowy area. The surface of the hills is chiefly disintegrated rock, and the surface of the valleys is earth or gravel. Vegetation is extremely scant; here and there is some green by a spring or along the moistened bank of a stream, and on some hill-sides is a thin herbage. It is this herbage that is the support of the flocks and herds which sustain the small population of Rupshu. Cultivation is carried on in two places only, and to a very small extent; it is on their flocks that the people depend.

In the whole area of the district, which is about 4000 square miles in extent, there are but 500 souls.* These, as will have been understood, are Chāmpās; they are dwellers in tents, or, as the Persian phrase has it, "wearers of tents."† This small tribe, the Rupshu Chāmpās, have about 100 tents, one to a family; they are divided into two camps, which separate in summer, and frequent distinct pastures, but reunite in winter. They make about four moves during the year, with, I think, much regularity, though the time of these must vary if the season be unusually late or early; thus their stay at each encamping-ground is nearly three months on the average. The tents are of a black hair-cloth, made from either yāks' or goats' hair. They are of a peculiar form; they are constructed in two pieces, which are not closely united, but put together so as to leave an opening of six inches all along the top; this allows the exit of smoke, while the fall of rain or snow is so small as to cause little inconvenience, or the space may be temporarily covered with a piece of carpeting. The space within the tents is enlarged by the hair-cloth being pulled out here and there by extra ropes, which are led over a forked stick and then pegged down. The tent is ornamented with little flags and with yāks' tails fastened to the poles. I have no measurement, but from memory should say that the tents are about 14 feet long, 10 feet wide, and nearly 6 feet high inside. OF THESE LIVES A WHOLE FAMILY.

* These people practise polyandry as the Ladākhīs do; to this we must directly attribute their small numbers. The necessity felt for polyandry arose from the number of sheep, goats, &c., being limited by the winter feed.

† *Khīma-posh.*

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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high; in one of these lives a whole family. The sheep
231 and goats are very numerous. At evening time one sees the
236 flocks and the herds coming down the hill-side and collecting at
[492] the encampment by hundreds, and even thousands. The sheep is of a large kind; it is here made use of for carrying loads; the salt from the lake is carried out of and grain is brought into the country on the backs of sheep; a small pack or double bag is made to hang over the back, filled to an average weight of 24 lbs.; the stronger animals will be loaded up to 32 lbs. The larger of the two kinds of goat kept here is made use of in just the same
[438] way. The more general is the shawl-wool goat, a small long-haired species; the kids of this sort are beautiful little animals. The wool that goes to make the soft fabrics of Kashmir is an under-growth at the root of the long hair of these smaller goats. It comes in winter time, not only to the goats but to the yāks, dogs, and other animals, domestic and wild both, as a protection against the severe cold. At the beginning of summer the wool grows out or loosens; it is then combed out from the goats and sent to Leh, where it is picked free from hairs and either worked up or sent on to Kashmir. It must not be supposed that the greater part of the shawl-wool used in Kashmir comes from Rupshu; the greater quantity and that of better quality comes either from the Chinese districts beyond the boundary of Ladākh, or from the Amīr of
231 Kāshgar's country. The horned cattle are all of the
492 yāk species. In Rupshu, as far as I know, there is neither the cow nor any of the hybrids of yāk and cow. The yāk is a half-wild, not easily tractable, beast; his numbers are not very large in Rupshu; there may be 400 or 500 head. The yāk's duty is that of a load carrier. The Rupshu people do not carry loads on their backs like the Ladākhīs, they depend entirely on their cattle, on their sheep and goats for merchandise that is easily divisible, on their yāks for that of larger bulk. In this
439 way the Rupshu people are great carriers. Between Central
492 Ladākh on the one hand and Gār in Chinese Tibet or Lāhol in the British country on the other, they are kept well employed in helping forward merchants' goods. For this service they get good
[Use in Rupshu Analysis]

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [illegible]

W. Tibetans AJ4

142 few are over five feet in height, and they appear to be compact,
291 but this is not too easy to decide since the men wear very thick long-sleeved cloaks or chogas—much like dressing gowns tied round the waist with a leather girdle—loose trousers tucked in
291 felt gaiters and boots; usually they wear woollen caps with ear flaps and their oiled, black pig-tail of hair hangs behind. The women wear long gowns like coat-frocks with full skirts, sheepskin chogas and cloth caps which have ear flaps standing out. The best clothes kept for gala holidays have the head dress made of velvet, trimmed with fur edging and ornamented with large corals, turquoise and silver; their frocks are bright with trimmings of brilliant braids and scarves which tie in front—all the cloth is home spun; their "furs" consist of a short, gaily coloured cape trimmed on its edge with long, silken goat hair.

142 The younger women are quite good-looking, the skin is tight
145 on their faces, and they have a fresh bloom upon their high cheek bones. None know their age, so that it is difficult to judge if they age rapidly or normally, though I have seen many mothers who looked old enough to be grandmothers and long past childbearing, with children tied to their backs. When once
302 the skin slackens it rapidly becomes wrinkled and dark. It seems that they use as a cosmetic the bright yellow juice of a berry, which also acts as an astringent. I do not believe they ever wash it off; when it wears a bit they apply another coat.

563 The population consists of two communities, the Ladakhis
233 proper and the Champas or nomads; there is no intermarriage between them. The Champas are the shepherds; they take their flocks of sheep and herds of goats to the upland valleys where they live in tents, very rarely does one become a monk; it is they with their wool who supply the principal commercial export
563 product of the country. The Ladakhis are mostly engaged in
241 agricultural pursuits, each family having its tiny portion of land. These people are poor by modern standards, living a simple life in a country which has not yet heard of the modern
● [231] inventions and progress of the outside world. They plough the land with an animal called a zho, an ever-grunting beast which is a cross between a yak and a cow, the land being watered
241 either by the river or by canal water. They grow barley, wheat, buckwheat, beans, peas and rape seed, and at the greater heights

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir A~~V1~~
W. Tibetans AJ 4

a kind of barley known as grim; from this, *chang*, the drink of the people is made; it has a sour odour. The fruit trees bear apricots, apples and mulberries. 241

The zho is the animal most used for riding, being quieter than the yak, though they are not nearly as strong as the yak which is a big brute, with great head, short horns, and covered with dark brown hair. It is a strange creature, for just as a horse will stretch down its neck and bite at some grass as it goes along, so the yak when being driven through the snow, will take a mouthful and make a loud grunting noise, a characteristic which it does not pass on to its half-breed son; for the zho does not grunt, it grinds its teeth in a strange manner, a sound which one either comes to put up with and does not notice, or is nearly driven mad by. 231 492

Practically all the animals in Ladakh grow an undercoat of fine down in the winter time, even the small horses. It is that from the Ladakhi goat which is exported to Kashmir for the making of the famous pashmina shawls, and through Ladakh pass caravans carrying it there from Kashgar. In calling it "pashmina", they have without doubt corrupted and used the Russian word "pushmina". Here in Leh, were to be bought soft blankets of brown and black wool, which are probably made from the undercoat of the zho, the yak, and maybe the little mountain pony. 236 439

The people's food is simple. Meat is too expensive for the poor to eat except on festive occasions. Mostly they eat thick barley cakes or barley meal in a broth of turnips heavily salted. Like the Kashmiri they have their own way of making tea; strong tea is mixed with soda, and then salted and churned with butter until the whole becomes creamlike in its thickness. 262 272

Religion is the greatest power in the lives of the people. They are Buddhists, practising a form known in Tibet and referred to as Lamaism; a religion which dominates their lives, promising every true follower the bliss of Nirvana; faith which, the Abbot of one of the monasteries told me, "teaches compassion, courtesy, kindliness, truthfulness, loyalty, politeness in word, cheerfulness and good humour". And from what I saw of them I should imagine that many of these qualities are to be found in the majority of the people in a land where murders 771 779

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

who could make themselves understood to me and I to them, I began to realize that, as may be expected from a man when he is faced with the choice of hard work for life and poverty in his old age, or the possibility of a life not so hard and care in his old age, many were not really as devout, sincere and moral in their lives and thoughts as they should be and could be classified as professional lamas; it may be that I expected too much from them.

At the entrance to the monastery there were as always a number of prayer cylinders; upon entering we rotated these, thus sending our prayers to heaven as we passed. At the entrance were also quite a few savage mastiffs which are there to guard the gates—from whom I did not discover—but they looked most vicious brutes even when the lama on duty held them back from us. In the courtyard was a large square building containing the images; no woman may enter here. The dimly lit chapel, odorous with incense, was interesting with elaborately and beautifully carved images of Buddha in all kinds of stone, some being gilded. Spread out before the most important of them all was the most amazing collection of gifts, a French gilded clock, a Venetian glass vase with lustres hanging, a basket shape made up of coloured sea shells and filled with faded feather flowers, an ivory pagoda shape, and most surprising of all, a china funeral wreath under its glass canopy. The walls had the most lovely Chinese silk and Tibetan gold-embroidered velvet hangings. Beneath these were some bowls of "incarnation water". To one side was a large stool, rather like a low table with a small rail around it; this had two steps leading up to it and was cloth covered, obviously the pulpit from whieh thc Head Lama preached as he sat. To one side and at the feet of a great Buddha, were dull gilded metal "champagne cups".

The most beautiful murals had been painted on the walls; the Chinese school revealed itself in many of them. Each of the figures was as though floating in a cloud in the heavens; one, a fair Tibetan figure playing a stringed instrument, was surrounded by white clouds, the next, a bolt-eyed, dark skinned warrior with a sword in his hand floated in dark clouds. The Buddhist Ceylon priest said that they depicted Good and Evil: the Head Lama went into the story of a war fought between Lamas and invaders. I am inclined to believe my P Ceylon friend.

241 [231] [262]

range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *zo* (male) or *zomo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

135 Minerals.

Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 Manufactures.

Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *pattū* and *pashmīna*.

439 Commerce and trade.

The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 Administration, 643 &c. [691] [704] [439] [648] [624] [651] [807]

Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *tahsīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex-officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans A14

A Trip to Ladakh

796 ceremony in a real monastery. The people all round
793 were thoroughly enjoying the play and were laughing
535 heartily.

I could not find out the reason for this last act, but I suppose it was to show that the monks when engaged in their religious duties were too deeply engrossed to be disturbed by assaults of the devils. Well, it was a great show, and one wondered how much of it was believed by the people who had come from such long distances to see their religion acted.

It seemed to me that they were too jolly and cheery a lot to believe much in devils; they evidently saw the humour of it all. The abbot of the monastery told us that the monks had been practising for a whole year at the play, and showed us the rod of correction which he used on those monks who failed in their parts. It was a thick black stick weighted with brass. I felt sorry for those monks who did not live up to the form of Friar Tuck, and had not a good cushion of fat to protect their bones when the brass stick descended. But perhaps they knew the schoolboy's copy-book trick.

231 The great monastery mastiffs interested us, but we were thankful that they were chained. We were told that the dogs used to be kept in lieu of graves for the monks, or, in other words, to eat up the dead members of the brotherhood.

Some of them are very savage brutes. A friend of mine who was attacked by one had a bad time, although he himself was an athlete; he was obliged to go to bed for a day or two after the attack. I myself had a narrow shave one day. I went into a monastery uninvited to have a look round. When coming through a very narrow passage I saw one of these dogs fast asleep, as I imagined, and foolishly thought I could pass him if I walked

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AV4

A Trip to Ladakh

delicately. But no such thing. The sleeping dog was very much awake, and unfortunately was not chained and came for me at once. I fortunately had an alpenstock in my hand, which I immediately presented to his open mouth; but the passage we were in being narrow, I had no spare room for wielding my weapon. I of course stood perfectly still, and then commenced to back slowly. The beast followed me inch by inch as I retreated inch by inch, with the point of my stick ready to jab in his mouth. That mastiff saw me off those premises all right, and I was glad to have got clear without damage. It taught me to be careful when visiting my clerical brethren in their religious houses.

We had now to turn our faces towards Leh and then to Srinagar. At Hemis we bade farewell to Phelps and Church, who started off on their long trail for the Tibetan plateau in search of their big game, ovis ammon and ovis poli.

We reached Leh on the second day, where we bade our kind friends the Commissioner and missionaries good-bye and started on our way west.

At the stages we always preferred to pitch our tents and sleep in them rather than face the champion hoppers in the dak bungalows. At one of the stages a young officer asked us to dine with him, and Neve noticed that he had some plate belonging to himself. This curious phenomenon was not difficult to explain, as this officer had been a guest in Dr Neve's house and so had his servant, and the servant in the interests of his master had annexed the said articles, thinking it would be more worthy of his master than that which his master possessed. This is not an uncommon custom of servants who visit houses with masters who do not know of this custom, and do not overhaul their property before leaving